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THE END OF THE NDEBELE ROYAL FAMILY

INTRODUCTION*

On 30 March 1932 the High Court in Bulawayo found Rhodes Mpango, son of Njube, son of Lobengula, guilty on various counts of extortion and attempted extortion, and so sentenced him to a total of fifteen months imprisonment, suspended for three years on condition that he did not repeat his attempts to claim 'royal' cattle from peasants in Matabeleland.¹ Thus ended in failure a campaign by the Khumalo family which for over thirty years had been trying intermittently to regain some of its status and wealth — a campaign which had culminated in the seizures of cattle after the arrival in Southern Rhodesia in 1926 of Njube's sons, Albert and Rhodes.² Their failure in 1932 marked the beginning of the end for the very concept of a royal family — seen most strikingly in the response of ordinary cattleowners who at last stopped putting the royal earmark on the progeny of the once 'royal' cattle given to them by the British South Africa Company in 1895.

Nevertheless it did not follow inevitably that all was irretrievably lost for the Khumalos; for 'native policy' in Southern Rhodesia, as elsewhere in British Africa, was turning back to some extent to traditional authorities. A situation similar to that of Matabeleland existed in Zululand where Dinuzulu had been deposed and his son, Solomon, not recognized; but organizations dedicated to the restoration of the royal family as paramount, notably Inkatha ya ka Zulu (1922–3) and the Zulu Society (1935–7), were tolerated by the South African government which in a series of hesitant steps between 1939 and 1951 came to restore the paramouncy. The present importance of Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, nephew of Solomon ka Dinuzulu, adviser to the King, leader of the new Inkatha (1975), and Chief Minister of Kwazulu, shows that political influence can survive apparent loss of status and power.³ Nor were the Khumalos without similar organized support in their day, for the Matabeleland Home Society (a new name adopted in 1929 for Ilihlo Lomuzi founded in 1920)⁴ did its best to focus loyalty on to Nguboyenja, son of Lobengula and uncle to Rhodes and Albert, who despite his reclusive silence was maintained in a sort of court in Bulawayo.⁵ After Nguboyenja's death in 1944, Albert, the elder brother of Rhodes (who had died in 1937), was regarded as heir by some Ndebele but by no means all in view of his mother's non-chiefly origin. After Albert's death in 1952 there was even more doubt about the succession; some regarded Albert's eldest son, Nduna, as heir; some preferred Patrick, Rhodes's eldest son; but most tended to look to the half-brother of Albert and Rhodes, Ndabayecela [Ndabecala]. However, both Nduna and Patrick were born of mothers who were neither chiefly nor even Ndebele; and although Ndabecala was born of a chiefly mother, she was a Gqunukhwebe who after the death of her husband, Njube, had brought her son up in an entirely Xhosa environment. The 'royal link' was still there but it had become so attenuated that, as will be seen, the support for these 'heirs' was popular and urban rather than traditional from the Khumalo and other Zansi families; and by then—the later 1950s—such a popular movement faced opposition from Chiefs, whether Khumalo or not, and competition from nationalist movements.

The British South Africa Company's policy of keeping Njube in exile till his death and his sons, Albert and Rhodes, in a Xhosa environment until adulthood had succeeded in its purposes of alienation. What follows is a detailed reconstruction of the final stages of that process of alienation and decline of the concept of royalty which, surprisingly, has received virtually no attention from historians.⁶

RHODES MPANGO LOBENGULA AND HIS FAMILY

Within a week of the sentence, Rhodes was reported to be publicly defying the government and the decision of the court. He had boasted outside the courthouse that he would collect his cattle¹ and his great-uncle, Makwelambila, was talking of collecting cattle to pay for the legal costs!² This defiance was quite open for Rhodes explained his intentions and reasons in great detail to the Assistant Native Commissioner at Fort Usher on 7 April. In brief he regarded the matter of Njube's ownership of cattle (as distinct from 'royal' cattle in general) as not settled by the court and so open to him to pursue.³

The government began to consider his deportation but decided that it might present tricky legal problems.⁴ Rhodes for his part offered to leave provided the government gave him a fully stocked farm and £5 000 and continued to pay his pension of £12.10s. a month.⁵ This offer was regarded as impudent and the Native Affairs Department raised the question of stopping Rhodes's pension.⁶

The position, however, appears to have rapidly changed when Rhodes became sick and by September he was making more modest requests to the government to buy him land in Natal; he said he would sell all his livestock (some 60 cattle and 50 small stock) and emigrate never to return.⁷ The Chief Native Commissioner quickly wrote to the South African Department of Native Affairs asking if this would be possible: there was nothing serious against Rhodes, he said, but the Southern Rhodesian government would be glad to see the back of him and 'his political pretensions [sic]'.⁸ The Native Affairs Department in Natal strongly objected to receiving a potential troublemaker but the South African government agreed that he could settle in the Cape where there was no restriction on Africans acquiring land.⁹ Meanwhile it was becoming clear that Rhodes was under pressure because of debts to Bulawayo traders, mainly Indians, who were threatening legal action and civil imprisonment.¹⁰

The Premier, Moffat, therefore, agreed with the Chief Native Commissioner that the government should help Rhodes pay his debts and buy a farm and he informed his cabinet colleagues that it was 'good policy for us to get this young man out of the country at [such] a moderate cost'.¹¹ Moffat himself put the purchase of a farm in train through an acquaintance in the Cape, and civil servants started to attend to the details. The total cost for the 500-acre farm in view, half a dozen head of cattle and settling debts would come to nearly £2 000, but it was felt to be worth it as Rhodes's impecuniousness could only lead to more demands on the Ndebele—as indeed soon happened when he paid off one debt by getting 19 cattle subscribed to him.¹² There was also fear that he might return unheralded if he got into debt in South Africa—as was expected—and so his legal residential status had to be clarified and the government was assured that it could declare him a prohibited immigrant if necessary; it was also established that, as South African by birth, Rhodes could freely settle in the Cape.¹³

The Cabinet agreed to buy the 300-morgen farm near Peddie which Moffat had found and to pay half Rhodes's debts if he left for good.¹⁴ Rhodes readily agreed, being, as he put it, between the devil and the deep sea; his only request was that he might come back once a year for a month and take Dhliso Gumbo with him; both requests appear to have been ignored by the Government which feared that these were devices to keep in touch politically with the Khumalos.¹⁵

Thus during the rainy season of 1933-4 Rhodes Lobengula signed an agreement not to return and so left his father's people, and accompanied by his wife, Rosamond, a Mfengu from King William's Town, settled on his farm, 'Lloyd's', near Peddie.¹⁶ Immediately on arrival he denounced as unsuitable the farm that had been bought for him; and after some hesitation and enquiries, the Southern Rhodesian Government reluctantly decided to buy another farm.¹⁷ This was done¹⁸ with the help of the South African government despite the fact that some local official advice was against Rhodes's occupying the farm, 'Gosforth', which was in a European area.¹⁹ By early 1935 Rhodes was happily settled on the new farm together with some cattle loaned to him by the Southern Rhodesian Government; he wished he had never gone to Southern Rhodesia and his only complaint was that the Xhosa and Mfengu were dishonest and made poor servants and labourers and that he was lonely for Albert's news and Dhliso's company.²⁰

Life still was not easy for Rhodes, however. A Coloured girl who had borne Rhodes two children in Bulawayo was threatening legal proceedings as the only way to obtain the financial support which the government felt unable to deduct from the monthly pension of £12.10s. which was

still paid to Rhodes.²¹ Rhodes promised to send her money but at the same time asked the government for further financial assistance to buy more cattle, which the government refused.²² A few months later Rhodes was in similar sexual-financial trouble when legal proceedings to attach the cattle on Rhodes's farm were begun in a case for damages for seduction.²³ On this unhappy but not uncharacteristic note, our knowledge of Rhodes comes to an end, for he died by drowning on 16 January 1937. According to the inquest he had been trying to take a short cut by crossing the Fish River to part of his farm where he was going to thin mealies.²⁴ A local oral tradition, however, is that he was hunting duck (hence the gun he had with him according to the inquest) and that his ancestral spirits under the water called him to them.²⁵ He was buried next to his father in Grahamstown on ??? and the Southern Rhodesian Government decided that it was politic, to avoid any suspicions, that it should pay for three Queens accompanied by Ntando, to go to Grahamstown for the funeral.²⁶ A tombstone was erected later, paid for by a subscription among the Ndebele with a contribution by the government to enable two representatives to go down for the dedication on 18 August 1938.²⁷

The government meanwhile had decided to give Rosamond £10 a month towards the expense of bringing up the five young children. She appears to have been fairly comfortably off and to have managed the farm well,²⁹ but she was temporarily embarrassed when the settlement of Rhodes's estate finally showed liabilities of £265 even after the sale of the 27 head of cattle and 19 goats that he had left near the Queens Kraal in Inyati.³⁰ The government, however, refused to give her a loan despite its evident relief that there was no repetition of the claim to royal cattle as there had been in Njube's will. An era had ended.

After this there was little contact between Rosamond and the Southern Rhodesian Government, except for some routine correspondence about the despatch and receipt of her monthly allowance of £10. There appears to have been no contact between the Ndebele and the children; the first two girls and Patrick, the third child, had been born in Matabeleland, but they appear to have shown no interest in their Ndebele descent and they and Rosamond had no intention of breaking the understanding made by Rhodes that the farm and allowances were in return for never returning to Southern Rhodesia.³¹ To ensure that this never happened, in fact, the Southern Rhodesian government retained the title deeds in its name but this backfired a few years later when in 1942 the local veterinary authorities in the Cape insisted that the owner of the farm and the cattle, the Southern Rhodesian government, build a cattle-dip on the farm. The Treasury resisted the further expenditure involved and proposed to sell the farm and compensate Rosamond by raising her allowance.³² The Native Affairs Department strongly objected on the ground that it would be a breach of faith which might lead to new complications; and so it proposed that the Southern Rhodesian government should pay for the dip-tank but then transfer the farm and cattle to Rosamond Lobengula in trust for her children in order to avoid any future liabilities; in return the family should accept that: firstly, this was a final settlement of any claims on the government; secondly, the pension would be reduced as each child reached sixteen years of age and would be extinguished on the death of Rosamond; and, thirdly, none of them would ever attempt to return to Southern Rhodesia.³³

All concerned—the Cabinet, Treasury and Rosamond—accepted this compromise;³⁴ and in view of the 'political significance . . . [it was] deemed . . . desirable . . . to obtain the approval of the Kumalo family'; this was achieved without any trouble.³⁵ The help of the South African government was also obtained to get round the formalities of transferring land not in an area scheduled for Africans to the Lobengulas.³⁶ Thus in 1944 the farm was finally transferred from the name of the Southern Rhodesian Government into that of the five children subject to a usufruct to their mother for life,³⁷ but the actual transfer documents were still retained in Salisbury, in order to be able to enforce the understanding that none of the Lobengulas would ever try to return to Southern Rhodesia.³⁸

Little else is known about the family which was by now virtually South African and Mfengu. It appears that the children went to school in Grahamstown³⁹ and lived with Anti Ngqondela,⁴⁰ at least until sometime in the 1940s when Rosamond sublet the farm first to a European and then to two Africans so that she herself could live in Grahamstown.⁴¹ The son, Patrick, went to St Matthews⁴² and in 1947 was intending to go to Lovedale in the following year.⁴³ Whether he did or not is not known but in 1949 he attended Langa High School in ?? and it was here probably that he passed his Cape Senior Certificate.⁴⁴ He entered the South African Native College, as it

was then known, at Fort Hare in 1950 to read for a B.Sc. degree of the University of South Africa and/or Rhodes University with the hope of qualifying thereafter as a medical practitioner.⁴⁵ He was apparently not a very good student⁴⁶ and he failed a major in his final year which he repeated but apparently failed again.⁴⁷ It was probably in that interval that he taught for six months at St Matthews where his mother had become a house-mistress.⁴⁸ He then obtained his teaching certificate from Wentworth and then taught at Adams College for three years and then at a school in Cradock.⁴⁹ While a teacher he married Thelma Cecilia, a midwife, and their first child was named Rhodes after his grandfather.⁵⁰ Little is known of Patrick's sisters, except that Gladys attended St Matthew's and Faith went to Tiger Kloof; by 1954 Ruth and Cristina were in jobs, in Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth, respectively,⁵¹ and it was probably one of these two older sister who had attended Bensonvale Institution⁵² They all married and/or had children.⁵³

Meanwhile Rosamond had to make a living to take care of her five children particularly as their allowance from the Southern Rhodesian Government ceased as they reached sixteen years of age.⁵⁴ First she leased the farm⁵⁵ to be near the children in Grahamstown where she worked as a teacher and then as they dispersed she went to St Matthew's in 1953, where Patrick joined her, as has been seen.⁵⁶ It was during this time, in 1954 and 1955, that Rosamond and her children were contacted by the Matabeleland Home Society which was looking for an heir, following Albert's death at the end of 1952; this led to a visit to Bulawayo by Rosamond in 1958 but nothing more came of it, as will be seen.⁵⁷ Indeed the link between her and her children and Southern Rhodesia was soon to be broken. In 1959 Rosamond became worried about the future of her children and their farm as the Group Areas Board had recommended that the area around Gosforth should become a White area. She, therefore, wondered whether she should sell up and try to buy a farm elsewhere. Her chances of doing this, however, appeared to be remote and on balance the feeling of the Southern Rhodesian government was that she should hold on to see if the Board's recommendation would be implemented, but that, if she insisted on selling, there was nothing the government could do to stop her if the children also agreed to the sale.⁵⁸ After all, the government's 'primary consideration is that none of the family should return to Southern Rhodesia'⁵⁹ and so, when Rosamond's attorneys entered into negotiations with prospective purchasers, the government agreed to give her the deeds provided that Rosamond and the children signed an undertaking never to return to Southern Rhodesia.⁶⁰ Rosamond had no objection to her own and her daughters' signing, as they all had domicile by birth or by marriage, but the son Patrick who had been born in Matabeleland had not, apparently, acquired domicile and so could be deported; nevertheless Patrick along with the rest of the family signed the required undertaking, whereupon the deeds were sent to them.⁶¹

Eight months later Rosamond was dead (9 February 1961) and she was buried ten days later next to Rhodes, her husband, who in turn lies beside Njube, his father.⁶² The Matabele were represented by John Hlabangana, the only one of the four representatives proposed by the Matabeleland Home Society to whom the South African government gave emergency travel documents.⁶³

The link between Rhodes Lobengula and the Southern Rhodesia government was now completely broken. The children no longer received any pension and the government said it was of no concern to Southern Rhodesia if they wished to sell the farm Gosforth — which they did, to a European purchaser in 1965.⁶⁴ Patrick died on 18 November 1968 and his wife, known locally as Nurse Lobengula, died in Port Alfred in 1983.⁶⁵ One of their daughters had predeceased them — Ruth in 1967 — and their son, Rhodes Zila, died in July 1984; three other children survive: Humphrey Mncedisi, who lives in Port Elizabeth, and his two sisters who are in Lesotho, Nombomi Ntomboxolo, a teacher, and Amanda Zolisa, a Science undergraduate at university there. Of Patrick's four sisters, Ruth died in 1964, Christina in 1980 and Gladys in 19??, but, as has been seen,⁶⁶ they were all survived by children; the surviving sister, Faith, lives with her husband and seven children in Lesotho. Their knowledge of their royal ancestry appears not to go back further than Rhodes Mpango and their only interest really is the sad state of the graves in Grahamstown.⁶⁷ In that the family has ceased to exist politically, the exile of Rhodes in 1933 has had the desired effect.

ALBERT SONISO LOBENGULA AND HIS FAMILY

Meanwhile, Rhodes's elder brother, Albert, who had not been prosecuted in the 1932 cattle case —more by luck than innocence¹—had found himself in a rather different sort of trouble over cattle.

In June 1933, just as Rhodes was agreeing to leave Southern Rhodesia for good, Albert was arrested for theft of seven head of cattle belonging to a European neighbour of his near the Queens Kraal where Albert ran some 150 head of his own; he was found guilty and sentenced to nine months hard labour.² This case seems to have put an end to hopes that the Native Affairs Department had of getting Albert to accompany Rhodes.³ After he had been in prison about two months, six of Lobengula's Queens petitioned for his release⁴ which was granted by the government, 'as a gesture of good will towards the Matabele people, so that they could join in the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the occupation of Matabeleland, without that sense of distress which they may have felt, at the incarceration of the eldest grandson of their late King'.⁵

Albert, however, had other problems and debts, and no job, and it appears that he and the government both agreed that it would be better if he left Matabeleland; and so it was arranged that he should yield his rights to the Queens Kraal (where he had been living but which no Queen had occupied for many years) in return for a farm in the Fort Victoria area.⁶

This, however, took time to arrange and the Native Affairs Department officials in Fort Victoria strongly objected to having 'a mob of Matabele with their anti European ideas' in their District where many respectable Shona farmers had long been waiting for Purchase Area farms to be surveyed for them; as a compromise it was finally decided that Albert might go to Deyure where the Basuto farmers had settled.⁷ Albert inspected land in the area but had apparently changed his mind by then and wanted to stay in the Native Purchase Area in the Bubi District; this the Chief Native Commissioner refused because 'we lack confidence in him'.⁸ Consequently Albert stayed at the Queens Kraal but there were rumours that he had changed his mind about going to join Rhodes; the government, however, insisted that it had no plans to buy a farm for him in the Cape.⁹ He then finally persuaded the Native Affairs Department to re-employ him as a Messenger-Interpreter but, at his own request, in Salisbury: he was, he said, anxious to get away from Matabeleland and the government agreed that this was best for all concerned.¹⁰ He said that he wanted to look for land in Mashonaland but just before Rhodes died Albert visited Peddie to inspect the farm adjoining Gosforth with the idea of taking Nguboyenja there to live;¹¹ and after the funeral Albert considered going to live with Rhodes's family on Gosforth or the neighbouring farm if the government would buy it for him.¹² This the government declined to do and Albert decided to continue working in the Native Commissioner's office in Salisbury.¹³ In July 1938 he resigned his post and, probably to avoid numerous debts in Southern Rhodesia, he went to live in Grahamstown, where he obtained a job with the Town Council.¹⁴

Sometime later he returned to Southern Rhodesia and by 1945 he had purchased a farm in the Gwatemba Native Purchase Area where he lived, still drawing his allowance of £12.10s. a month,¹⁵ but unable to afford his children a good education.¹⁶ He did not enjoy the best of health, apparently,¹⁷ and he died on his farm on 4 December 1952 where he was buried two days later; he was survived by two sons of his first marriage, both of whom were in South Africa, and his second wife and her nine children.¹⁸ His eldest son, Nduna, asked if he could continue to receive the allowance paid to his father, but this was refused in line with a policy decision some five years earlier that pensions to the royal family should not be perpetuated.¹⁹ Nine years later he asked again on the ground that he was still supporting his father's children who were minors. This was again refused as a matter of policy but Albert's widow was granted £3 a month not as a pension or subsidy, but as a Destitute's Allowance²⁰ — thus was royalty humbled. This, but for fleeting and ineffectual appearances of Nduna later, as will be seen,²¹ appears to be the effective end of Albert's branch of the royal family, although I hope to confirm this from oral history when conditions in Matabeleland became more conducive to fieldwork.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE ROYAL FAMILY

Soon after Albert's death there arose the feeling that he should have been buried at Entumbane¹ and a meeting was arranged between the Kings of Matabeleland Memorial Fund Committee of the Matabeleland Home Society and the Chiefs to discuss re-interment. Sidojiwa Khumalo represented the family and retracted his earlier support for the idea which, he said, had been due to his ignorance of traditional custom and the family's wishes;² it was, therefore, decided to leave Albert's remains where they lay³ —much to the annoyance of some Ndebele opinion which regarded the Khumalos as taking a narrow family view of their national responsibilities.⁴ It was probably such suspicions that prompted *The African Home News*, founded and edited by C G Ngcebetsa, Rosamond's 'brother', to ask why no *ukubuyiso* ceremony had been held, what the position was of Nduna, his heir, and of the other legitimate children (by his divorced wife), and what had happened to his savings.⁵

It was part of the same concern for the future of the royal family that Amos Mazibisa, the President at the Matabeleland Home Society, at the meeting with the Chiefs to discuss Albert's re-burial announced that representatives of the Society would go to visit the family of Rhodes.⁶ This was done in June–July 1954 and the delegation reported that Rosamond was teaching at St Matthews but that the family kept a rented house in Grahamstown sustained by the rent from the farm which was let to two Africans. Patrick, the only son, was teaching for six months in order to save enough money to resume his studies for the B.Sc. at Fort Hare. This was held to be a great step forward for the Khumalos but it was pointed out that the real head of the family was Ndabayecala [Ndabecala], the half-brother of Rhodes and Albert, who unlike them was of chiefly descent on the maternal side.⁷ He had little or no contact with the Ndebele, as far as is known, although, as has been seen, he had worked for Rosamond on her farm in 1941–2.⁸ The Southern Rhodesian government had never recognized his existence but in 1951–2 (that is before the death of Albert) there had been somewhat obscure references to him by the Matabeleland Home Society.⁹ The delegation had decided that after seeing Rhodes's children it should make contact with Ndabecala who was working on the railways at Modderbee near Johannesburg. This was achieved and Ndabecala, delighted with the surprise visit, expressed the desire to settle with his wife and two children in Matabeleland.¹⁰ A few months, after this had been reported to the Matabeleland Home Society, Nduna was called to Bulawayo to discuss the *ukubuyiso* ceremony and Ndabecala's coming to live in Matabeleland, with the idea of assuring the succession to the paramountcy.¹¹ Nothing, however, appears to have been done until Mazibisa made another visit to Rhodes's family in 1955. He reported to the Chiefs that their help was needed to build Rosamond a house in Grahamstown and in further discussion of the need to settle the succession it was suggested that Ndabecala should take over Albert's farm and so release Nduna to come and live in Bulawayo.¹² Again, nothing seems to have happened; there are hints of difference of opinion as to Ndabecala's suitability,¹³ and no more was heard of him in Matabeleland.¹⁴

Also at this time there is evidence that the Matabeleland Home Society was declining, perhaps because of divisions between the Khumalo family and wider Ndebele opinion. In 1956, for example, there was an obscure complaint by Chief Mtozima Gwebu of Mzinyatini about an intended visit by 'grandchildren' of Lobengula.¹⁵ In 1958 the Society organized a private visit to Matabeleland by Rosamond Lobengula and took great pains in preparing a grand welcome at Bulawayo railway station, with the municipal brass band in attendance and a European policeman on a motor-cycle to clear the way; there followed a reception at the African Methodist Church Hall, and visits to a school, to Albert's grave and to Entumbane which was cleaned up specially for the occasion.¹⁶ The visit went off very well as far as Rosamond and the Matabeleland Home Society were concerned but it had repercussions. The first repercussion was that some Chiefs, the Khumalo family and Ginyilitshe Hlabangana, their *umbongi*, boycotted the latter parts of the visit, partly because of traditional objections to a woman visiting the royal graves¹⁷ and partly because of jealousy and a feeling that the Matabeleland Home Society represented the *holi* rather than the aristocracy;¹⁸ as Mr Sivako recently recalled: 'there was a split. It was those who were

intelligent who became very active in the Matabele Home Society, some of whom were not even of Nguni blood. This made some of them [the aristocracy] drift away, seeing that ordinary men were now prominent.¹⁹

THE END OF LOBENGULA ROYALTY

So strong were these feelings, indeed, that in 1959 a new organization, variously referred to as the Sons of Mzilikazi or Mzilikazi Family Association, was established¹ — the emphasis on Mzilikazi rather than Lobengula no doubt being a reflection of the fact that the descendants of Njube, Ndabecela and the children of Albert and Rhodes, were regarded more as Mfengu or Xhosa than true Ndebele and of more interest to the Matabeleland Home Society than to the Khumalo family,² which, of course, had agreed to their virtual banishment in 1943. This also was a reflection of a growing feeling of identity, hard to document, among the Zansi chiefs as a group.³ The Matabeleland Home Society, for its part, was also in decline⁴ in spite of the publicity value of Rosamond's visit and survived only by increasingly difficult acrobatics whereby it articulated popular Ndebele envy and suspicion of the Shona in Bulawayo and, at the same time, added its voice to the political demands of the nationalist movement;⁵ thus Amos Mazibisa, the long-serving President of the Matabeleland Home Society, who had once had an obsession with a Khumalo paramountcy,⁶ was detained along with other African National Congress members in February 1959,⁷ while his 'intimate friend', the President of the A.N.C., J. M. Nkomo, who had helped him in Home Society affairs, was abroad.⁸ Younger men were now coming to the fore and they had little interest in Lobengula's descendants.⁹ When Rosamond Lobengula died two years later, in early 1961, the Matabeleland Home Society, two of whose traditional leaders, Mazibisa and Brown Luza, had planned to spend Christmas 1960 with her, appointed four representatives to go to the funeral;¹⁰ but *The African Home News* took little notice,¹¹ and its editor, Ngcebetsha, Rosamond's 'brother' and great protagonist of the Matabeleland Home Society in its heyday, became lukewarm in his support¹² once he had joined ZAPU and suffered detention;¹³ redetained, he became editor of *The Gonakudzingwa News*¹⁴ — a new era had truly begun.

CONCLUSION

In spite of what was said at the beginning about possible parallels with the Zulu royal family and Inkatha, it is perhaps surprising that the virtually foreign descendants of Njube retained any influence in Matabeleland in view of their effective alienation from the Ndebele. Even more surprising is the total eclipse of the other sons of Lobengula, Nyamanda, Tshakilisha and Sidojiwa, and their descendants, who appear to have played no political role at all — a fact that must throw added doubt on Cobbing's arguments that Nyamanda and not Njube was regarded as the true heir.¹ Whatever Nyamanda's status, however, his brief prominence in 1919–21 was narrowly based on an appeal for more land essentially for some members of the traditional elite, like Nyamanda and Madhloli Khumalo, who had lost out by not being Chiefs. Thus the so-called National Home Movement did not really exist as a political, let alone a mass movement; it was a family pressure group looking to a traditional past.

Rhodes and Albert, on the other hand, by the very foreignness of their upbringing and education did represent a wider and a modernizing influence among the Ndebele — touring the Reserves as they did in their American motor cars.² The long-term significance of this modernizing influence, however, was not that they dabbled in new political movements like the Rhodesian Bantu Voters' Association — which is what Ranger has drawn attention to³ — and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union.⁴ Rather it was that they, and particularly Rhodes, were able by their education to articulate Ndebele ethnic pride at a time of rapid socio-economic change when the Ndebele were becoming conscious of being left behind, as Mfengu were arrogating to themselves positions of leadership in Matabeleland,⁵ and Shona were taking jobs in Bulawayo.

Thus Rhodes denounced the fact that Ndebele workers in Bulawayo had to share churches with Shona migrants instead of having their own, and he was reported to want to drive the Shona out of Bulawayo.⁶ Football which Rhodes introduced to Bulawayo, and boxing which he encouraged,⁷ were soon organized on ethnic lines⁸ and so became the focal point of rivalries over jobs and

women that erupted into the riots of Christmas 1929⁹ (indeed some Shona protagonists in the fighting wore their football and boxing colours, shirts and shorts as a uniform in the melee¹⁰). It was also no coincidence that the Matabeleland Home Society had taken on its new name at this time to emphasize its function of protecting Ndebele interests, with Rhodes and most Ndebele thus abandoning the Mfengu-dominated Rhodesian Bantu Voters' Association.¹¹ To what extent the attacks on the Shona had been planned by the Matabele Home Society and Rhodes is not certain, but circumstantial evidence pointed that way particularly when they tried to organize a repetition of the riot for Christmas 1930 in such a way that, by involving Mafindo's people, for example, it would heal the divisions amongst the Ndebele since 1896 and restore Ndebele leadership over the other peoples of western Zimbabwe.¹²

Thereafter the Matabeleland Home Society appears to have become less prominent, acting more as a spokesman for the Khumalos — at least until the 1950s when, again at a time of rapid socio-economic change in Bulawayo, its leaders began to play their part in Advisory Board politics and public affairs. As tensions between the Shona and Ndebele in Bulawayo grew again from the mid-1950s (symbolized by the Ndebele success in 1956 in having Rufaro township renamed 'Njube'), so the Matabeleland Home Society became an urban-orientated movement with less and less rapport with the traditional Khumalo leaders and Zansi Chiefs in the countryside. The vestigial longing for an Ndebele paramountcy—for a descendant of Njube, however foreign—was now a demand for recognition of the political rights of Africans, not a restitution of the Khumalo family *per se* — hence the Mzilikazi movement in reaction.

This line of analysis must remain somewhat speculative until detailed work on the Matabeleland Home Society is completed but other evidence does tend to confirm the basic postulation that in the long development of modern mass nationalism, it is not a simple unilinear progression away from traditional and ethnic political associations as Ranger had envisaged¹³—as indeed is shown by the perpetuation into post-independence Zimbabwe of Kalanga aspirations, which Ranger, logically, has felt compelled to criticize.¹⁴ The neglected fact, it seems to me, is that the vigour of political activity at street level in Bulawayo in the 1950s was not in national bodies like the African National Congress but in a revived Matabeleland Home Society and, even more significantly perhaps, in new ethnic bodies like the Sons of Mashonaland Society and the Kalanga Cultural Society which, respectively, S. V. Muzenda and J. Z. Moyo did not hesitate to join, any more than the Nkomo brothers doubted the propriety of their active participation in the Matabeleland Home Society.¹⁵ The process by which these bodies invigorated and ultimately merged into the N.D.P. and ZAPU has not so far been considered worthy of study,¹⁶ and they tend to be dismissed as particularist and reactionary¹⁷ or, at best, of marginal importance in the development of mass nationalism. But a more positive role for such bodies was indicated by Fanon who spoke of such cultural resistance (to the colonialist) and withdrawal (from bourgeois nationalist politics) as the crucial element which held the masses, the peasantry, together as 'a coherent people who go on living, as it were, statically, but who keep their moral values and their devotion to the nation intact'.¹⁸ Similarly Mafeje has spoken of a militant conservatism which saves the people from alienation — 'the curious logic of colonial history [by which] the conservatives of yesterday . . . become the radicals of tomorrow'.¹⁹

But for today we have a nationalist unity that is more fragile and more bourgeois than envisaged by Fanon and Mafeje, respectively, and in this situation cultural ethnicity is perceived as potentially dangerous, as is shown by the non-publication of Ucko's ethnically-charged report and the virtual halt to the Government's culture-house policy. The widespread interest in Inkatha and the Natal Indaba that was evident in Bulawayo during my research in early 1987 emphasizes this — not only for Zimbabwe but also for South Africa which in this respect is at the stage of political development that Zimbabwe was in the late 1950s. Perhaps John Buchan's Zulu leader, the Revd John Laputa, and Heaton Nicholls's successor to Lobengula, Balumbata Nelson,²⁰ represent more than Whitemen's fears seventy years ago.

REFERENCES

*I am grateful to many individuals and institutions for help with various queries. Most are obvious from the footnotes, but special thanks are due to the staff at the National Archives of Zimbabwe, in both Harare and Bulawayo, Mr J. D. White of the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, Harare, and Mrs P. Vickery of the Bulawayo Public Library.

¹The trial was given prominent coverage in *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 18,19,22,23,24,25,30 and 31 Mar. 1932.

²My forthcoming papers on Njube, Nyamanda, Albert and Rhodes, and the cattle question will cover the various aspects and episodes of this campaign.

³For a discussion of these events, see S. Marks, 'Natal, the Zulu royal family and the ideology of segregation', *Journal of Southern African Studies* (1978), IV, 172-94; *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal* (Braamfontein, Ravan Press, 1986), 36-7,41,69,71; and 'Patriotism, Patriarchy and Purity: Natal and the Politics of Cultural Nationalism' (Cape Town, Univ[ersity] of Cape Town, Centre for African Studies Seminar Paper, 1986).

⁴*The African Home News*, 7 Apr. 1962

⁵For Nguboyenja, see R. S. Roberts, 'Nguboyenja Lobengula' (Harare, Univ. of Zimbabwe, Dep[artment of] History, Henderson Seminar Paper [60], 1985).

⁶There is a brief discussion of the royal family in the late 1920s and early 1930s in M. C. Steele, 'The Foundations of a "Native" Policy: Southern Rhodesia, 1923-1933' (Vancouver, Simon Fraser Univ., unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, 1972), 183-7.

RHODES MPANGO LOBENGULA

¹[National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare; all archival references are to this Archives unless otherwise indicated], S1542/L13 [Native Affairs Department, Chief Native Commissioner, Correspondence, General, 1914-43: Lobengula Family, 1932-6], S[uperintendent of] N[atives] Bulawayo to C[hief] N. C[ommissioner], 9 Apr. 1932.

²*Ibid.*, idem, encl.: N.C. Fort Usher to S.N. Bulawayo, 7 Apr. 1932. For Makwelambila, see R. S. Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula and close associates of the Khumalo family after the Occupation', *Heritage* (1986), VI, 29-30.

³S1542/L13, Assist[ant] N.C. Fort Usher to N.C. Fort Usher, 7 Apr. 1932.

⁴S138/92 [Native Affairs Department, Chief Native Commissioner, Correspondence, Numerical Series, 1923-33: Care of Lobengula's Offspring, 1923-33] III, C.N.C. to Secr[etary to the] Premier, 10 May 1932; Secr. Law Dep. to Secr. Premier, 31 May 1932.

⁵*Ibid.*, S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 6 May 1932, encl. Rhodes to S.N. Bulawayo, 5 May 1932. This was not entirely a new idea as Rhodes had raised the question in January before the charges, *ibid.*, S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 16 Jan. 1932.

⁶*Ibid.*, C.N.C. to S.N. Bulawayo, 8 June 1932.

⁷S1542/L13, S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 8 Sept. 1932. Steele, 'The Foundations of a "Native" Policy', 187, gives the wrong impression in saying that Rhodes was 'induced to leave'.

⁸S1542/L13, C.N.C. to Secr. N. Aff[airs], Pretoria, 10 Oct. 1932.

⁹*Ibid.*, Secr. N. Affs., Pretoria, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 5 Nov. 1932; S[outh] Afr[ica, Government] Arch[ives Service, Pretoria] NTS, [Box 9830], 1/407 [Departement van Naturelle Sake: Albert Lobengula, Lobengula's Sons], I, C.N.C. Natal to Secr. N. Affs., Pretoria, 26 Oct. 1932. South African officials had to admit, in later interdepartmental correspondence, at least, that Rhodes could claim citizenship, S. Afr. Arch. NTS/1/407, I, Secr. N. Affs. to Secr. Interior, 19 Dec. 1933, and reply, 9 Jan. 1934.

¹⁰S1542/L13, C.N.C. to S.N. Bulawayo, 7 Oct. 1932; C.N.C. to Secr. Premier (N. Affs.), 8 Oct. 1932; S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 11 Oct. 1932. The extent of these debts kept growing over the next year and it

appeared that some were loans to help with his legal expenses; see *ibid.*, Actg S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 30 June 1933; C.N.C. to Secr. P[ri]me M[inister] (N. Affs.), 26 Sept. 1933.

¹¹*Ibid.*, C.N.C. to Secr. Premier (N. Affs.), 8 Oct. 1932; Memorandum by Premier, 14 Oct. 1932.

¹²S1542/L13, C.N.C. to Secr. Premier (N. Affs.), 19 Apr. 1933; Actg S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 30 June 1933; S482/803/39 [Prime Minister, Correspondence, General: Lobengula's Descendants' Claims, 1925-45], 'Lobengula's Grandsons . . . Claim to Cattle and Other Activities', Moffat to C. P. S. Alport, [Magistrate, Peddie], 3 and 22 Dec. 1932.

¹³S1542/L13, Legal Assist., Opinion 150, 26 Apr. 1933 (prohibition would be under section 2(6) of Ordinance 7 of 1914, and he would in any case lose his right of domicile by emigrating to take up residence elsewhere); S1542/L13, Secr. Interior, Pretoria, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 16 Jan. 1934.

¹⁴S2223 [Cabinet Secretariat, Minutes], 9 (5 Jan. - 29 Dec. 1933), Cabinet Resolution 3046, 26 May 1933; S1542/L13, Secr. Premier to C.N.C., 6 June 1933; C.N.C. to Actg S.N. Bulawayo, 26 June 1933.

¹⁵S1542/L13, Rhodes Lobengula, Bulawayo, to S.N. Bulawayo, 30 June 1933; Actg S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 4 July 1933, and reply, 8 July 1933; Rhodes Lobengula, Bulawayo, to C.N.C., 4 July 1933. His Khumalo relatives, Joyi, Nyanda and Makwelambila, were informed that the Government would not pay those debts of Rhodes for which they had been guarantors, for the government felt that it was they who were largely responsible for his predicament, *ibid.*, C.N.C. to Actg S.N. Bulawayo, 20 July 1933; S482/803/39, 'Lobengula's Grandsons . . . Claim to Cattle and Other Activities', Secr. Dep. P.M. to P.M., 26 Sept. 1933.

¹⁶S482/803/39, 'Lobengula's Grandsons . . . Claim to Cattle and Other Activities', Secr. Dep. P.M. to Secr. Governor, 27 Oct. 1933; S1542/L13, C.N.C. to Secr. N. Affs, Pretoria, 25 Nov. 1933. S. Afr. Arch., NTS/1/407, I, N.C. Peddie to C.N.C., King William's Town, 29 Jan. 1934; Minist[ry of] Local Gov[ernment], Rural and Urban Develop[ment, Harare], S1/87 [Lobengula : Settlement of Rhodes Lobengula in the Union: Lloyd's Farm; Gosforth, Peddie], C.N.C. to Under Secr. Dep. Lands, 16 June 1934. Rosamond and others often spelt her name 'Rosamund', but I have consistently used the former.

¹⁷S1542/L13, Rhodes Mpango Lobengula, Peddie, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 29 Jan. 1934 and n.d. [early Feb. 1934]; C.N.C., Salisbury, to R. R. Tapson [Assist. N.C. Charter, on holiday in] East London, 10 Feb. and 16 Mar. 1934; Tapson, East London, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 18 Feb. 1934; S2223/10 (5 Jan. - 28 Dec. 1934), Cabinet Resolution 3578, 23 Mar. 1934; S482/803/39, 'Lobengula's Grandsons . . . Claim to Cattle and Other Activities', Actg C.N.C., Salisbury, to C.N.C. Southern Rhodesia, Cape Town, 17 Aug. 1934; P.M., Minute for Governor, 8 Mar. 1935; Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., S1/87, Under Secr. Dep. Lands to Secr. Land Board, Dep. Lands, Cape Town, 20 Feb. 1935. The Southern Rhodesian government had been deceived over the farm which, in the end, the South African government bought for less than half what had been paid, to add to an African area, S. Afr. Arch., NTS/1/407, I, C.N.C., Salisbury, to Secr. N. Affs., Pretoria, 28 Apr. 1934 (telegr.); Secr. N. Affs., Pretoria, to C.N.C., King William's Town, 13 Sept. 1934; II, N.C. Peddie to C.N.C., King William's Town, 2 May 1944.

¹⁸Zwelitsha, Deeds Office, Farm Gosforth, Portion I, Deed of Transfer 2568, 4 Apr. 1935; Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., S1/87, A. M. Alport, Peddie, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 4 Apr. 1935, and to Under Secr. Dep. Lands, Salisbury, 9 May 1935.

¹⁹S. Afr. Arch., NTS/1/407, I, C.N.C., King William's Town, to Secr. N. Affs., Pretoria, 1 May 1934 (telegr.).

²⁰S1542/L13, Rhodes M. Lobengula, Gosforth, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 16 Feb. and 9 Apr. 1935. The C.N.C. replied in a non-committal but fatherly manner, *ibid.*, 26 Feb. 1935. It appears that Albert did not get on with Rhodes, *ibid.*, C.N.C. to Minist. N. Affs., 21 Dec. 1933. Dhliso Gumbo did go to Rhodes's farm to help, *ibid.*, S.N. Bulawayo to Immigration Officer Mafeking, 7 Sept. 1935, but had returned to Southern Rhodesia some time in 1936, Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2 [Lobengula and Widow Rosamund], C.N.C., Salisbury, to Magistrate Peddie, 16 Oct. 1937 and Rosamond Lobengula to *idem*, 31 Oct. 1937. For the cattle, see below, fn. 23.

²¹S1542/L13, S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 10 Dec. 1934; C.N.C. to S.N. Bulawayo, 13 Dec. 1934.

²²*Ibid.*, Rhodes Lobengula to S.N. Bulawayo, 4 July 1935; Rhodes Mpango Lobengula to C.N.C., 27 July 1933, and reply by Actg C.N.C., 6 Aug. 1935.

²³*Ibid.*, A. M. Alport, Attorney, Peddie, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 23 Jan. 1936; Bennett and Mears, Peddie, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 18 Feb. 1936; Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop. HIS/1/6 [Lobengula's Descendants], A. M. Alport, Peddie, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 18 Jan. (telegr.) and 9 Mar. 1936.

²⁴Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, N.C. Peddie to C.N.C., Salisbury, 8 Feb. 1937, encl. J. Addleson, District Surgeon Peddie, 'Report of Post-Mortem Examination', 18 Jan. 1937; J. T.

Boast, Magistrate Peddie, 'Inquest--Lykskoving', 21 Jan. 1937.

²⁵Interview by Mr N. J. de Beer on my behalf with Mrs Boqwana, Mpeko Location, Dabi Tribal Authority, Nov. 1982

²⁶Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 22 Jan. 1937; C.N.C. to Secr. Treasury, 26 Jan. 1937; Actg C.N.C. to S.N. Bulawayo, 11 Feb. 1937 (telegr.); S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 1 Mar. 1937. The Queens were Mcupela, Moko and Fulo. For Ntando's position, see Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula . . .', 30-1.

²⁷Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 6 Feb. 1937; C.N.C. to S.N. Bulawayo, 9 Feb. 1937; C.N.C. to Secr. Treasury, 10 Dec. 1937; C.N.C. to S.N. Bulawayo, 18 Dec. 1937; *East Africa and Rhodesia* (1937-8), XIV, 1461. See also the inscription in English and Ndebele on the stone, Grahamstown, Fingo Village, Old Native Location Cemetery.

²⁸S222/13 (8 Jan.- 31 Dec. 1937), Resolution 5316, 2 Apr. 1937. The sources give very contradictory information about the children but what appears to most reliable (S. Afr. Arch., NTS/1/407, II, Findlay & Tait, Cape Town, to Secr. N. Affs., Pretoria, 8 Oct. 1943) is as follows (with additional facts followed by their source in brackets): the eldest child, Ruth Nikiwe, was born in Southern Rhodesia (Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, S.N. Matabeleland to C.N.C., 17 Feb. 1937; Under Secr. Adm. N. Affs., Memorandum, 26 Nov. 1959) on 22 June 1927, illegitimately to another woman eighteen months before Rhodes married Rosamond; when she was baptized on 14 Nov. 1938 (St Philip's Church, Grahamstown, Register of Baptisms, ????, 414, No. 2661), however, her birth date was given as 27 June. Then came Rosamond's offspring: Christina Nomatasanga, born in Southern Rhodesia (Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, S.N. Matabeleland to C.N.C., 17 Feb. 1937) on 14 Aug. 1930 (baptized 28 Dec. 1930, St Philip's Church, Grahamstown, Register of Baptisms, ?????, 326 No. 2284); Patrick Boyd Fana, born on 31 Aug. 1932 in Bulawayo (Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Under Secr. Adm. N. Affs. Dep. to Minist. N. Affs., Memorandum, 26 Nov. 1959); Gladys Zila Nodoli, born 23 Mar. 1934 (baptized on 12 Aug. 1934, St Philip's Church, Grahamstown, Register of Baptisms, 355, ???, No. 2409); and Faith Zola, born 4 Oct. 1936.

²⁹Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Rosamond Lobengula to Magistrate Peddie, 31 Oct. 1937; A.M. Alport, Peddie, to N.C. Bulawayo, 21 Nov. 1938.

³⁰Ibid., Actg N.C. Salisbury to S.N. Bulawayo, 23 June 1937; N.C. Inyati to S.N. Bulawayo, 9 Apr. 1938; A.M. Alport, Peddie, to N.C. Bulawayo, 21 Nov. 1938.

³¹Ibid., Under Secr. Adm. N. Affs., Memorandum, 26 Nov. 1959; Secr. N. Affs. to H.G. Levy, Grahamstown, 15 Dec. 1959. One point of contact, of interest in view of later developments, came in 1941-2 when Ndabaycela [Ndabecala], Rhodes's half-brother by Njube's second wife, Mary Nongokwakhe Kama, wrote to a surprised Rosamond expressing his need for financial assistance and his desire to be reunited with the family of Lobengula, *ibid.*, Ndaba, Iqibecca [sic], to sister [Rosamond Lobengula], [Nov.] 1941; R.N. Lobengula to N.C. Peddie, 23 Nov. 1941; Actg S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 6 Dec. 1941. The Southern Rhodesia government let it be known that he had never been recognized officially and the matter ended with Rosamond taking him on as a labourer, *ibid.*, Secr. N. Affs., Salisbury, to N.C. Peddie, 10 Dec. 1941; N.C. Peddie to Secr. N. Affs., Salisbury, 16 Feb. 1942. No more is heard of him until some eighteen months before the death of Albert in December 1952 and for a similar period thereafter the Kings of Matabeleland Fund Committee of the Matabeleland Home Society took an interest in him; see below, fn. 7,9

³²Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., S1/87, Minist. N. Affs., minute for Cabinet, 4 Jan. 1943.

³³Ibid.

³⁴S2223/19 (5 Jan.- 22 Dec. 1943), Resolution 7299, 13 Jan. 1943; Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., S1/87, Secr. Treasury to Auditor General, 9 Feb. 1943; copy of undated note of acceptance signed by Rosamond Lobengula.

³⁵Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., S1/87, Secr. N. Affs. to Secr. Treasury, 29 Jan. 1943.

³⁶S. Afr. Arch., NTS/1/407, II, Findlay & Tait, Cape Town, to Coghlan, Welsh & Guest, Salisbury, 6 July 1943, and to Secr. N. Affs., Pretoria, 8 Oct. 1943; Actg Secr. N. Affs., Pretoria, to *idem*, Salisbury, 23 Oct. 1943. The farm adjoined a scheduled area, Dabi's Location, but by this time had been leased out by Rosamond to a European farmer, *ibid.*, N.C. Peddie to C.N.C., King William's Town, 2 May 1944.

³⁷Zwelitsha, Deeds Office, Portion I, Farm Gosforth, Deed of Transfer 9485, 10 July 1944; Notarial Deed . . . of Life Usufruct 222, 13 June 1944; Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., S1/87, Under Secr. Dep. Lands to Secr. Treasury, 21 July 1944.

³⁸Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Coghlan, Welsh & Guest, Salisbury, to Under

Secr. Dep. Lands, 8 Aug. 1944; Secr. N. Affs. to H. G. Levy, Grahamstown, 15 Dec. 1959. There was apparently some doubt if their return could in fact be prevented legally, *ibid.*, S1/87, C.N.C. to Minist. N. Affs., 29 July 1943.

³⁹*Ibid.*, X40/2, S.N. Matabeleland to C.N.C., 17 Feb. 1937.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, X40 [Relatives and Retainers of Lobengula], Anti Ngqondela, Grahamstown, to Magistrate Grahamstown, 10 Jan. 1939; X40/2, Secr. N. Affs. to Secr. P.M. (N. Affs.), 16 Feb. 1939.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, X40/2, Rosamond Lobengula, Grahamstown, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 23 Nov. 1947; A. M. Alport, Peddie, to Secr. N. Affs., Salisbury, 24 Aug. 1959; S. Afr. Arch., NTS/1/407, II, N.C. Peddie to C.N.C., King William's Town, 2 May 1944; *The African Home News*, 31 July 1954.

⁴²Interview with Mrs Boqwana; *The African Home News*, 14 Aug. 1954.

⁴³Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Rosamond Lobengula, Grahamstown, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 23 Nov. 1947.

⁴⁴University of Fort Hare, Registry, P. B. F. Lobengula, 'South African Native College: Form of Application for Admission', lodged 1 Feb. 1950.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, *idem* and 'South African Native College: Certificate of Admission to Class', 1950; *idem*, 1952; *idem*, 1954; and 'Rhodes Univ. Attendance and Performance Certificate', 1951; *idem*, 1952. He was also enrolled with the University of South Africa for the B.Sc degree and passed three courses in 1950, personal communication from the Registrar (Academic), University of South Africa, 16 Apr. 1985.

⁴⁶Interview with Mrs Boqwana. An Ndebele interviewee in Harare in 1983 who wishes to remain anonymous said that, when he was at Fort Hare, Patrick drank heavily and was 'a disgrace to the name he bore'.

⁴⁷University of Fort Hare, Registry, Acting Principal, University College of Fort Hare, 'This is to certify that Mr Patrick Boyd Fana Lobengula . . .', 30 Oct. 1954.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*; Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Rosamond Lobengula, Grahamstown, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 28 Jan. 1953; Univ. of Fort Hare, Registry, P. B. F. Lobengula, 'South African Native College: Form of Application for Admission', lodged 1 Feb. 1950; *The African Home News*, 31 July 1954; *Grocott's Daily Mail*, 20 Feb. 1961.

⁴⁹Personal communication from Miss Dolly Mda (Patrick's niece), Port Elizabeth, 20 Feb. 1984. According to C.G. Ngcebetsha, he obtained his B.A. at Fort Hare in 1958 (*The African Home News*, 2 Aug. 1958; for Ngcebetsha's interest, see below, fn. 5, 2), but this is probably a confusion with his U.E.D., as the academic authorities there and at UNISA have not been able to trace any degree, personal communications from the Chief Public Relations Officer, University of Fort Hare, 16 Feb., 18 Mar. and 9 May 1985; and the Registrar (Academic), University of South Africa, 16 Apr. 1985.

⁵⁰Personal communication from Miss Dolly Mda; St Philip's Church, Grahamstown, Baptism Register, ???, 17, No. 151, 23 Dec. 1962 (Rhodes Zila, born 6 Sept. 1962).

⁵¹*The African Home News*, 14 Aug. 1954.

⁵²Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Rosamond Lobengula, Grahamstown, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 23 Nov. 1947.

⁵³Personal communications from Miss Dolly Mda (Gladys's daughter), and Mrs S. Sehlole, Mazenod, 16 Oct. 1984 (Faith Zola who has seven children); St Philip's Church, Grahamstown, Baptism Register, ????, 636, No. 3499, 4 Aug. 1952 (Ruth Lobengula's daughter, Gladys Tozana, born 1 May 1949), and 709, No. 3962 (b), 23 Dec. 1956 (Ruth Lobengula's child, Faniswa, born 6 May 1955); Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, signed statement by Rosamond's children [May 1960]: Cristina signs as Christina Nomothamsanga Mgqolombe; and St Philip's Church, Grahamstown, Baptism Register, ????, 531, No. 3072, 6 June 1946 (Cristina Lobengula's child, Padrona Nokuzola, born 10 Oct. 1954); and 636, No. 3498, 4 Aug. 1952 (Cristina Lobengula's son, Patrick Booi Tando, born 10 Oct. 1951).

⁵⁴Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40, Memorandum, 'Subsidies to the Wives and Children of Lobengula', 1 May 1950; X40/2, Actg Assist. Secr. Adm. N. Affs. to Secr. Treasury, 26 Sept. 1952.

⁵⁵See above, fn. 41; see also Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, A. M. Alport, Peddie, to Secr. N. Affs., Salisbury, 24 Aug. 1959.

⁵⁶See above, fn. 48.

⁵⁷See below, fn. 6-7, 12, 16-17.

⁵⁸Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Rosamond N. Lobengula, St Matthews, to C.N.C., 23 Mar. 1959; Bantu Affs. Comm. Peddie to Secr. N. Affs., Salisbury, 5 May 1959; A. M. Alport, Peddie, to Secr. N. Affs., Salisbury, 4 and 16 Sept. 1959; Under Secr. Lands to Secr. N. Affs., 21 Oct. 1959; Secr. Justice and Internal Affs. to Secr. N. Affs., 27 Oct. 1959.

⁵⁹Ibid., Under Secr. Adm. N. Affs., Memorandum, 'Rhodes Lobengula's Farm in the Union of South Africa', 26 Nov. 1959.

⁶⁰Ibid., Secr. N. Affs. to H. G. Levy, Grahamstown, 15 Dec. 1959.

⁶¹Ibid., R. N. Lobengula to Secr. N. Affs., 18 May 1960; signed statements, n.d. [May 1960] by P. Boyd Fana Lobengula, Gladys Zila Lobengula, Faith Zola Sehloho, Cristina Nomothamsanga Mgqolombe, Ruth Nikiwe Lobengula, and Rosamond Nombina Lobengula; Secr. N. Affs. to Mrs R. N. Lobengula, 31 May 1960, encl. deeds.

⁶²*Grocott's Daily Mail*, 20 Feb. 1961; Grahamstown, Fingo Village, Old Native Location Cemetery, inscription in English and Xhosa on tombstone; all three graves are in a very dilapidated state.

⁶³Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., HIS/1/6, Secr. N. Affs., Salisbury, to High Commissioner for South Africa, Salisbury, 13 Feb. 1961, and reply, 14 Feb. 1961; *The Sunday Mail*, 19 Feb. 1961.

⁶⁴Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., HIS/1/6, Secr. Eastern Cape Committee of Group Areas Board, Port Elizabeth, to Chief Bantu Affs. Comm., King William's Town, 4 May 1961, and reply, 10 May 1961; Chief Bantu Affs. Comm., King William's Town, to C.N.C., Salisbury, n.d., and reply by Secr. N. Affs., Salisbury, 30 May 1961; Cape Town, Deeds Office, Portion I of Farm Gosforth. Eleven years later it was sold to the Development Trust at a vast profit.

⁶⁵Personal communications from Miss Dolly Mda; Revd W. S. Mawa, St Alfred's, 1 Feb. 1984; and Mr Humphrey M. Lobengula, Port Elizabeth, 4 Sept. 1987. It seems that Patrick died of tuberculosis, like his grandfather, Njube, interview with Mrs Boqwana.

⁶⁶See above, fn. 53.

⁶⁷Personal communications from Miss Dolly Mda, Mrs Faith Sehloho and Mr Humphrey Lobengula.

ALBERT SONISO LOBENGULA

¹S1542/L13, C.N.C. to S.N. Bulawayo, 2 Apr. 1932, and reply, 27 Apr. 1932; C.N.C. to Secr. Premier (N. Affs.), 10 May 1932, and reply by Priv. Secr., 14 May 1932; C.N.C. to S.N. Bulawayo, 17 May 1932. He was demoted in rank in his job as messenger-interpreter with the Native Affairs Department.

²Ibid., Actg S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 16 June 1933; N.C. Inyati to C.N.C., 26 June 1933, encl. the committal proceedings, 21 June 1933; and 28 July 1933, encl. record of the trial, 25 July 1933; Commissioner B.S.A.P. to C.N.C., 18 July 1933. ?????????

³Ibid., Actg S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 30 June 1933.

⁴Ibid., Funisa, Mcupela, Mangosi, Ngunguse, Marho and Manxubu to S.N. Bulawayo, 3 Oct. 1933.

⁵S1020 (Native Affairs Department, Chief Native Commissioner, Circulars, 25 Jan. – 21 Dec. 1933), Circular Minute No. 25, 15 Nov. 1933. Seven Queens (the six petitioners and Fungo) thanked the Native Affairs Department and a deputation of four Queens later went to Salisbury to thank the government for this early release, S1542/L13, Queens to S.N. Bulawayo, 7 Nov. 1933; S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 9 May 1934.

⁶S1542/L13, C.N.C. to J. E. Nicholls, Solicitor, Salisbury, 29 Nov. 1933; Assist. Director of N. Lands to C.N.C., 28 Nov. 1933; C.N.C. to Minist. N. Affs., 21 Dec. 1933.

⁷Ibid., N.C. Fort Victoria to C.N.C., 18 June 1934; C.N.C. to S.N. Victoria, 30 June 1934.

⁸Ibid., N.C. Fort Victoria to C.N.C., 8 Nov. 1934; C.N.C. to S.N. Bulawayo, 28 Nov. 1934; N.C. Inyati to S.N. Bulawayo, 11 Dec. 1934; C.N.C. to S.N. Bulawayo, 14 Dec. 1934.

⁹Ibid., E. Leach, Peddie, to C.N.C., 8 July 1935, and reply, 22 July 1935.

¹⁰Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., HIS/1/6, N.C. Inyati to S.N. Bulawayo, 17 Jan. 1936; S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., n.d. [Jan. 1936], 29 Jan. 1936; Secr. N. Affs., Salisbury, to Town Clerk, Grahamstown, 24 Apr. 1939.

¹¹Ibid., N.C. Inyati to S.N. Bulawayo, 17 Jan. 1936; A. M. Alport, Peddie, to N.C. Salisbury, 27 Jan. 1937.

¹²Ibid., X40/2, C.N.C. to S.N. Bulawayo, 20 Feb. 1937; C.N.C. to N.C. Salisbury, 25 May 1938; S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 17 Feb. 1937.

¹³Ibid., HIS/1/6, Secr. N. Affs., Salisbury, to A. M. Alport, Peddie, 6 Feb. 1937; X40/2, S.N. Bulawayo, minute, 23 Feb. 1937, on C.N.C. to S.N. Bulawayo, 20 Feb. 1937.

¹⁴Ibid., HIS/1/6, Town Clerk, Grahamstown, to Secr. N. Affs., Salisbury, 30 Mar. 1939, and reply, 24 Apr. 1939; C.N.C. to N.C. Salisbury, 5 Mar. 1937 and 26 July 1939.

¹⁵*The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 12 July 1945; Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40, Secr. N. Affs. to Controller and Auditor General, 17 Nov. 1952.

¹⁶National Archives of Zimbabwe, Bulawayo, Papers of Revd W.A. Carnegie, Box 5443, Reports and Pamphlets A-Z, S.H. Mayedyia, Chairman Matabeleland Home Society to Revd [A.J.] Haile, Hope Fountain,

28 Mar. 1946. For the children, see below, fn. 18.

¹⁷ *The African Weekly*, 6 Oct. 1948.

¹⁸ *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 12 Dec. 1952; *The Bantu Mirror*, 13 Dec. 1952. I have not succeeded in verifying the details of these children. A son by the name of Nduna was regarded as heir, as will be seen; born in 1925 (Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., HIS/1/6, Nduna A. Lobengula to [N.C. Filabusi, May 1962]), he appears to be, but is not certainly so, the son of Angelina Kusina Mquda, probably from the Eastern Cape, who married Albert on 9 July 1925 (Full Marriage Certificate from Department of Home Affairs, Pretoria) and appears to be the relict of 1952. Nduna's younger siblings appear to be: Tembe (b. 1932), Vuyo (b. 1934), Manani (b. 1936) and David (b. 1938) according to his note cited earlier in this footnote; but the same note and an earlier report (ibid., N.C. Filabusi to P.N.C. Matabeleland, 29 Mar. 1962) also name Didiya (b. 1946), Albertino (b. 1948), Tokozile (b. 1949), Komu (b. 1952), Wewe (b. 1953), Ntjiye (b. 1953) and Hlaluse (b. 1956) of whom the last three were probably not children but grandchildren of Albert, but not Nduna's children (they were Tandiwe (b. 1947), Charles (b. 1952), Vuyisile (b. 1954), Sitembiso (b. 1955) and Nomsa (b. 1960)).

¹⁹ Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40, Assist. N.C. Fort Rixon to P.N.C. Matabeleland, 22 Mar. 1953; Assist. Secr. Adm. to P.N.C. Matabeleland, 2 Apr. 1953. The decision not to perpetuate the status of royalty by granting pensions had come suddenly in 1948 when the local officials of the Native Affairs Department in Matabeleland had recommended that a pension be granted to Matala, the senior son of Nyanda, son of Mzilikazi, who died in 1946; the Chief Native Commissioner, however, disagreed and decreed that these royal pensions should lapse in time; see ibid., Assist. N.C. Essexvale to P.N.C. Matabeleland, 29 May 1948; P.N.C. Matabeleland to C.N.C., 19 June 1948; C.N.C. to P.N.C. Matabeleland, 16 July 1948. For the lapse in time, see Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula . . .', 32.

²⁰ Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., HIS/1/6, Nduna A. Lobengula to [N.C. Filabusi, Dec. 1961]; N.C. Filabusi to P.N.C. Matabeleland South, 2 Jan. 1962, and reply, 6 Jan. 1962, and reply, 29 Mar. 1962; P.N.C. Matabeleland South to Under Secr. Adm. N. Affs., 3 Apr. 1962, and reply by Secr. N. Affs., 25 May 1962; N.C. Filabusi to P.N.C. Matabeleland South, 30 May 1962; P.N.C. Matabeleland South to Under Secr. Adm. N. Affs., 4 June 1962, and reply by Secr. N. Affs., 14 June 1962.

²¹ See below, fn. 5, 12.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE ROYAL FAMILY

¹ *The African Home News*, 8 and 23 Jan., 13 Feb., 13 Mar. and 22 May 1954.

² For Sidojiwa, see Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula . . .', 25-9.

³ *The African Home News*, 29 May 1954; *The Chronicle*, 5 June 1954. One of the members of the Committee was J. M. Nkomo.

⁴ *The African Home News*, 2 Aug. 1958.

⁵ Ibid., 12 and 19 June 1954.

⁶ Ibid., 29 May 1954; 14 Apr. 1962.

⁷ Ibid., 31 July, 14 Aug. 1954. His mother, Mary Nongokwakhe Kama, was of the ruling family of the Gqunukhwebe, the main group of the Ciskei; the present Chief Siseko Kama is her nephew, interview by Mr de Beer on my behalf with Chief Siseko Kama, Quibira, 20 July 1983. Steele, 'The Foundations of a "Native" Policy', 223, fn. 73, is thus doubly in error in saying that Ndabacala was of pure Ndebele descent but ignored by the Ndebele.

⁸ See above, fn. 31.

⁹ *The Bantu Mirror*, 7 Apr. 1951; 9 Aug. 1952.

¹⁰ *The African Home News*, 31 July 1954. The children were Elizabeth Vuyelwa (born c.1935-6) and Victor Mtutuzeli (born c.1942), ibid., 14 Aug. 1954. Their mother was described as unknown and unmarried when Elizabeth was baptized, St Philip's Church, Grahamstown, Register of Baptisms, ???, 548, No. 3138, 6 Apr. 1947; her name, in fact, was Nothousand and she died some time before 1968, interview with Chief Siseko Kama, who also added that Elizabeth married a man in the Idutywa district and that Victor went to work on the Rand and lost touch with the Kama family.

¹¹ *The African Home News*, 23 Oct. 1954; 14 Apr. 1962.

¹²Ibid., 7 and 14 May 1955.

¹³Interview by Mr M. Ncube on my behalf with Mr W. Sivako, Mpopoma, 1 Oct. 1985.

¹⁴He continued at his job until he received a pension in 1968 when he returned to the Kama family and married Nothandile, a Qhibira woman of the Mgoqi family. A son, Siyabulela Nobengula, was born on 30 Nov. 1972 and he is still at school in Qhibira. Ndabecela died on 10 Feb. 1979 but is survived by his wife who works as a cleaner at Chief Siseko's Great Place; she remembers her husband's going to the funeral of a Lobengula relative — presumably Patrick's in 1968, interview with Chief Siseko Kama, and by Mr de Beer on my behalf with Nothandile, Qhibira, 20 July 1983; personal communication from D.S. Yekela, Univ. of Fort Hare, 22 June 1987.

¹⁵Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., PER5/Mtozima, Actg N.C. Umzingwane to P.N.C. Matabeleland, 23 July 1956.

¹⁶*The African Home News*, 14 and 28 June, 12 and 19 July 1958; 15 Aug. 1959; 14 May 1960; 14 Apr. 1962; *The African Daily News*, 4 and 15 July 1958.

¹⁷*The African Home News*, 12, 19 and 26 July 1958.

¹⁸Ibid., 2, 16, 23 and 30 Aug. 1958; 2 May 1959; 14 Apr. 1962; *The African Daily News*, 12 July 1958.

¹⁹Interview with Mr W. Sivako. It is probably this episode of Rosamond's visit in 1958 that is the basis of N. M. Shamuyarira's account of an unnamed daughter of Lobengula coming from Cape Town in 1956 for the funeral of her brother (Nguboyenja, the last son of Lobengula, died in fact, in 1944); see *Crisis in Rhodesia* (London, Andre Deutsch, 1965), 29. The Khumalos' disapproval is not mentioned but that of the government is, and on this aspect Cde Shamuyarira recalls that African journalists were called in to see the Chief Native Commissioner who asked them to play down the visit, interview, 1986.

THE END OF LOBENGULA ROYALTY

¹*The African Home News*, 16 May and 1 and 15 Aug. 1959; interview with Mr W. Sivako, and by Mr M. Ncube on my behalf with Mr Madlibi Hlabangana, Mpopoma, 2 Oct. 1985.

²*The African Home News*, 15 Aug. 1959. Thus most of the public criticism of the Khumalos, the defence of the Matabeleland Home Society, and the news of the Lobengula family came from editorials, already cited, of *The African Home News* whose owner and editor, as already mentioned, was C. G. Ngcebetsha, a Mfengu and 'brother' of Rosamond Lobengula. A leading part in the Mzilikazi Family Association was taken by old families like the Gumedes, Ndiwenis and Hlabanganas; see *ibid.*, 18 May and 8 June 1963.

³See also the tendency of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to consult the Zansi chiefs on matters of disputed succession; for a good example, see the meeting of Zansi chiefs on 23 Mar. 1974 to discuss the Mtshane chieftainship: Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., PER5/Mtshane, *passim*.

⁴*The African Home News*, 18 July and 22 Aug. 1959.

⁵Ibid., 26 Sept. 1959; after the near explosion at Christmas 1955 over the naming of a new township 'Rufaro' in preference to 'Njube', the bad feeling between the Shona and Ndebele in Bulawayo seems to have reached a new highpoint in the period October 1959 – February 1960.

⁶Ibid., 22 Jan. 1955; 7 and 14 Apr. 1962.

⁷Ibid., 7 Mar. 1959.

⁸For Nkomo's participation in the Home Society, see above fn. 3, and *The African Home News*, 14 May and 16 July 1958; 7 Apr. 1962; his younger brother, Steven, succeeded Mazibisa as President, *ibid.*, 14 May 1960.

⁹*The African Home News*, 14 May 1960.

¹⁰*The African Home News*, 11 Feb. 1961; see above fn. 63.

¹¹*The African Home News*, 3 Dec. 1960.

¹²See *The African Home News*, 4 May 1963. The Mzilikazi Family Association, for its part, was described as being a front for the Rhodesia National Party (the new name of the defeated United Federal Party), *ibid.*, 15 June 1963.

¹³Ibid., 2 and 30 Mar. 1963.

¹⁴Ibid., 30 Jan. 1965.

CONCLUSION

¹J.R.D. Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820-1896' (Lancaster, Univ. of Lancaster, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, 1976), 284-7.

²S138 [Native Affairs Department, Chief Native Commissioner, Correspondence, Numerical Series, 1923-33], 92 [Care of Lobengula's Offspring, 1923-33], I, Actg S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 10 May 1926; *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 19 and 22 Mar. 1932.

³T.O. Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1930* (London, Heinemann, 1970), 98.

⁴For Rhodes and the R.B.V.A., see S138/22 [Native Movements, 1923-33], 1930-1, C.N.C. to Secr. Premier, 25 Mar. 1931; for Albert and the I.C.U., see *ibid.*, 1929-30, Detective W. L. Caryer, C.I.D. Bulawayo, to Chief Superintendant C.I.D. Salisbury, 10 June 1929.

⁵This is dealt with more fully in my forthcoming article on the Hlazos.

⁶S138/22, 1930-1, II, N.C. The Range to Actg C.N.C., 12 Dec. and 25 Nov. 1930.

⁷*The African Home News*, 10 Dec. 1955; 31 Mar. 1962; S138/22, 1930-1, N.C. The Range to Actg C.N.C., 25 Nov. 1930.

⁸This remained so; see J. M. N. Nkomo, *Nkomo: The Story of My Life* (London, Methuen, 1984), 68-9.

⁹S138/22, 1927-8, S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 2 Jan. 1930; *ibid.*, 1930-1, N.C. The Range to Actg C.N.C., 25 Nov. 1930; S482/805/39 (Prime Minister's Office, Correspondence, General, 1923-50: Native Disturbances, Bulawayo, 1930-2), J.C. Brundell, Chief Superintendant C.I.D. Bulawayo, to Commissioner B.S.A.P., Salisbury, 4 Jan. 1930, and encl: sworn statements by Kaula, Mdtshwa, Chikawa, 30 Dec. 1929; D/3/6/163 (District Courts: Criminal Cases: Bulawayo: 1930), *Rex v. Rusere* alias James alias Mompapa, evidence of Herbert Collier, Actg Location Superintendent Bulawayo, 23 Jan. 1930.

¹⁰D/3/6/163, *Rex v. Rusere* . . . , evidence of Tanyanyiwa, Ntiya, Masawi and Charles Rogers, 23 Jan. 1930.

¹¹S138/92, III, N.C. Gwanda to S.N. Bulawayo, 19 Feb. 1931; S138/22, 1930-1, C.N.C. to Secr. Premier, 25 Mar. 1931.

¹²S138/22, 1930-1, N.C. The Range to Actg C.N.C., 25 Nov. 1930; S.N. Bulawayo to C.N.C., 12 and 23 Dec. 1930, and reply (telegr.), 23 Dec. 1930.

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¹⁴*The Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe* (Gweru, Mambo Press, Occasional Papers, Socio-Economic 19, 1985), 19.

¹⁵Almost every issue of *The African Home News* has some reference to these societies or the Shona-Ndebele rivalry in Bulawayo, particularly in 1955-6 and 1959-60. For the Sons of Mashonaland Society, see *Bantu Mirror*, 24 May and 14 June 1952; and *The African Home News*, 5 and 19 June 1954; 10 Mar. 1956. For the Kalanga Cultural Society, see *The African Home News*, 22 and 29 Dec. 1956; 12 and 26 Jan. and 11 May 1957. There was also a Nyanga African Association, see *The African Home News*, 13 Sept. 1958.

¹⁶Ranger, *The Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe*, 18-19, for example, criticizes statements of the Kalanga Culture Promotion Society without considering the events of the 1950s or the reasons why people like J. Z. Moyo should have joined.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, *passim*; Steele, 'The Foundations of a "Native" Policy . . .', 182; and Nkomo, *Nkomo*, 68-9, which, incidentally, carefully omits any reference to the Nkomos' participation in the Matabeleland Home Society.

¹⁸F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, Grove Press, 1968), 127.

¹⁹A. Mafeje, 'Religion, class and ideology in South Africa', in M. G. Whisson and M. West (eds.), *Religion and Social Change in South Africa* (Cape Town, David Philip, 1975), 178.

²⁰J. Buchan, *Prester John* (London, T. Nelson, 1910); G. Heaton Nicholls, *Bayete* (London, George Allen & Unwin, [1923]).

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